

Message Text

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APPROVED BY EA - AMB. SULLIVAN

S/ S- O: S. FRY

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TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO

INFO AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH

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SUBJECT: JAPANESE POLICY ON VIETNAM

REF: A) STATE 106425

B) PARIS 16540

1. JAPANESE MINISTER YAMAZAKI AND POLCOUNS MURATA CALLED ON DEPASST SECRETARY SULLIVAN JUNE 15 FOR UPDATE ON STATUS OF TALKS WITH NORTH VIETNAMESE AS AGREED AT MEETING REPORTED REF A.

2. YAMAZAKI ASKED FOR COMMENT ON PARIS COMMUNIQUE OF JUNE 13 WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO CAMBODIA. SULLIVAN REPLIED THAT USG HAD BEEN DEEPLY CONCERNED OVER CONTINUED VIOLATIONS OF JANUARY 27 AGREEMENT AND, AS A RESULT, HAD SOUGHT TALKS IN PARIS TO CLARIFY AND IMPROVE THE SITUATION. THE COMMUNIQUE RELEASED JUNE 13 AT THE COMPLETION OF THOSE TALKS CONTAINED LITTLE THAT WAS NEW BUT HAD TIGHTENED UP EARLIER PROVISIONS.

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3. IT HAD BEEN CLEAR DURING NEGOTIATIONS THAT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE WANTED A COMMUNIQUE OF SOME SORT IN ORDER TO AVOID ANY IMPRESSION THAT THE TALKS HAD FAILED TO ACCOMPLISH THEIR PURPOSE. SULLIVAN ATTRIBUTED NVN DESIRE FOR AN APPEARANCE OF SUCCESS AT THE RECENT TALKS, IN PART AT LEAST, TO THEIR DESIRE FOR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. IT ALSO SEEMS THAT THE USSR AND PRC

WISH TO SEE AN END TO THE FIGHTING IN SEA. WE EXPECT TO HAVE A BETTER IDEA OF NVN SINCERITY, ESPECIALLY WITH REGARD TO LAOS AND CAMBODIA, BY SOME TIME IN JULY.

4. CAMBODIA - IN RESPONSE TO YAMAZAKI'S QUESTION, SULLIVAN EXPLAINED THAT WE WOULD HAVE TO EXAMINE CLOSELY NVN PERFORMANCE ON ITS PROMISE TO "SCRUPULOUSLY" OBSERVE THE ORIGINAL CEASE FIRE PROVISIONS. US BOMBING OF CAMBODIA WOULD, OF COURSE, CEASE IF CONGRESSIONAL ACTION REQUIRED IT. SULLIVAN NOTED THAT IN OUR JUDGMENT NEITHER SIDE WAS CAPABLE OF GAINING A MILITARY VICTORY IN CAMBODIA.

5. VIETNAM - SULLIVAN SAID THAT THE TWO VIETNAMESE PARTIES SEEM TO HAVE REVERSED THEIR POSITIONS WITH REGARD TO THE POLITICAL PROCESS IN SOUTH VIETNAM. INSTEAD OF PUSHING FOR EARLY ELECTIONS, THE NEW NVN TACTIC APPEARS TO BE ONE OF SEEKING ZONES OF CONTROL WHERE COMMUNIST CADRES CAN BE PROTECTED FROM ATTACK. HE ATTRIBUTED THIS CHANGE TO A REALIZATION BY THE NORTH VIETNAMESE THAT THE THIEU GOVERNMENT IS NOT NEARLY SO FRAGILE AS THEY HAD ASSUMED AND THAT COMMUNISTS WOULD BE AT A SERIOUS POLITICAL DISADVANTAGE IF ELECTIONS WERE HELD. THE GRVN IS NOW OPPOSED TO THIS DOWNGRADING OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS AND SEES THE POSSIBILITY OF A GREAT POLITICAL VICTORY AT THE POLLS. ALTHOUGH THE GRVN CONTINUES TO PRESS, WE SEE NO PROSPECT FOR EARLY ELECTIONS SO LONG AS THE COMMUNIST SIDE FEARS IT WOULD RECEIVE AN EMBARRASSINGLY SMALL VOTE.

6. YAMAZAKI SAID HE UNDERSTOOD GOJ NOW PLANS BEGIN TALKS WITH DRVN BEFORE THE END OF JUNE, BUT LATER

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QUALIFIED THAT STATEMENT BY SAYING HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT CURRENT GOJ PLANS MIGHT BE. HE SAID THAT GOJ EXPECTS ANY DISCUSSIONS RE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WILL TAKE "SOME TIME." HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT TWO PRG

REPRESENTATIVES ARE NOW IN TOKYO ON DRVN PASSPORTS FOR TALKS ON "HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS" OF GOJ ASSISTANCE.

SULLIVAN REFERRED TO RECENT HOGEN- SHOESMITH MEETING AND SAID WE HOPED TO HAVE CLEARER PICTURE OF SITUATION IN SEA BY EARLY JULY. IN ANY CASE, MINE SWEEPING OPERATIONS HAVE RESUMED AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TALKS WILL ALSO RESUME JUNE 18. HE SAID THAT THOSE TALKS ARE TO BE COMPLETED IN 15 DAYS, BUT SAID THE DISCUSSIONS WOULD BE CONCEPTUAL IN NATURE AND ANY " REALITY" WOULD DEPEND ENTIRELY ON CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL AND PROVISION OF FUNDS.

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